SUPPLEMENT.

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INDIAN EDUCATION: AN IMPENDING CALAMITY TO THE CATHOLIC INDIANS OF MONTANA.

CATHOLIC INDIAN CHILDREN TO BE ROBBED OF THEIR RELIGION AND FAITH.

We do not think these headlines any too strong to qualify the policy and recent action of the present Indian Administration with regard to Indian school matters in Montana.

We have before us a letter from the Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated Washington, June 9, 1892, and addressed to the Indian Agents in that State. The Hon. Commissioner announces that "A new Indian industrial training school has been established at Fort Shaw, Montana, and that the Superintendent, Dr. W. H. Winslow, physician and principal teacher, at Chiloco, Oklahoma, has been directed to proceed to Fort Shaw and enter upon the duties of his new position." He then declares that "it is the hope of the office to make this a large school, and, eventually, one of the most important in the Indian service." After pointing out the advantages of the location on account of buildings, facilities for agricultural pursuits, etc., the Hon. Commissioner continues as follows: "It is the expectation of the office that a large number of children will be transferred from your reser-

vation to this new school, and you are directed to co-operate heartily with Superintendent Winslow and with Supervisor Parker in their efforts to secure a large enrollment for Fort Shaw, as soon as the school is ready to receive pupils.

"Children transferred should not be under twelve to fourteen years of age, and they should have a fair knowledge of English. It is desirable that the children should have been previously in attendance at some other school.

Very Respectfully,

T. J. MORGAN, Commissioner."

We call the attention of all fair-minded people to the above; and that everyone may be able to judge of its importance and pregnancy, we have only to state here the simple fact that of all the Indian youth under twelve to fourteen years of age in Montana, to say the least, nine-tenths are Catholics and, mostly, in actual attendance at Catholic schools. This we know to be absolutely true, and a glance at the official Indian school statistics in Montana will convince anyone of the fact, and the accuracy of our assertion. With regard to the Jocko or Flathead Reservation, the case does not even admit of exception, as all the Indian children there are practical Catholics to a unit. It must, then, be evident to everyone that the new Fort Shaw school can have no pupils, or that, if it is to have any, nine-tenths of the number must be drawn from the Catholic Indian youth in attendance at Catholic schools. In the first supposition, the Fort Shaw school would seem unnecessary, and has no reason to exist; in the second, it cannot but be an outrage and a crying injustice on the souls and conscience of these helpless Catholic Indian children. Will the Hon. Commissioner appoint some Catholic priest as spiritual director of his new Fort Shaw institution? Will he have a Catholic chaplain to instruct those Catholic Indian children and minister to them the comforts of their religion? One might sooner expect lambs to be protected by wolves than Catholic instruction to be allowed these Indian children by Government officials of the Hon. Morgan and Dr. Dorchester's kind.

The Fort Shaw School is an non-sectarian Government institution, and as such, of course, will be conducted on non-sectarian principles. We know the meaning of "non-sectarian," both in the jargon of nothingarians and in the official language of Commissioner Morgan, Dr. Dorchester, and their compeers. With the former, it is exclusive of all religion; with the latter, it simply means "nothing in religion that is Catholic, and anything that is non-Catholic or anti-Catholic." This we know from the manner in which the non-sectarian Indian schools of Commissioner Morgan's own making are conducted all over the land, and we challenge contradiction of our statement. Hence we necessarily conclude that in the Fort Shaw school there will be for our Catholic Indian children something worse even than simply no religious instruction at all; there will be *positive* religious instruction, but of such a kind only as will be consistent with the non-sectarian character of the institution and its master and managers, that is *non-Catholic* and *anti-Catholic*. We now ask, what can such a school lead to but the practical "decatholization" of every Catholic Indian youth that will be forced to enter its doors?

The Indian agents of Montana are officially directed to "co-operate heartily in the efforts to secure a large attendance of pupils for Fort Shaw." This explains itself, and needs no comment at our hands. It can easily be surmised what this co-operation is likely to be; it will be both hearty and very heartless at the same time. What else can it be under the circumstances? "Three acres and a cow" will be the price paid Indian parents to have them consent to the "promotion" of their Catholic children to this new school or some other of the same kind. We know of a case where *three* cows, instead of *one*, was the price of such bargain; and by the irony of things, the youth is just one of those doubtful or "amphibious" Crees who are Canadian subjects when attending a Catholic contract school, but who, on entering a non-sectarian Government school, become at once full-fledged and native-born American Indians. But what the "three acres and a cow" method, what bribes and

well known Indian "tips" may fail to do, the suspension of rations, that is the starving-out process, is sure to accomplish. An empty stomach, we all know, is a rather strong argument, and its reasonings are never without a peculiar convincing force of their own.

The present Indian administration started out with the publicly avowed purpose to discontinue all Indian contract schools by the substitution of Government ones of the non-sectarian kind. That this policy was inaugurated and is continued by the administration, principally to do away with the Catholic Indian schools, is no longer a matter of doubt; it is on record and blazoned all along its course and tenure of office.

It is true that in the 23d Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners of 1891, page 134, we find the following declaration from Com. Morgan: "In reference to the contract schools the present policy of the Government is to preserve the *statu quo* and not interfere with the schools already established," and again that: "It will allow matters to take their own course." But these promises seem to have been either forgotten or cast to the winds, and facts belie the words. The bulldozing by the Hon. Commissioner of the Catholic Indian Mission Bureau established by the Catholic Hierarchy of the United Stated to look after the school and mission interests of our Catholic Indians; the diminished number of allowed pupils in Catholic Indian contract schools; the erection, unnecessarily and at a great expenditure of the people's money, of non-sectarian Government schools side by side with, and in opposition to the mission schools; school inspectors, school supervisors, and school superintendents of pronounced anti-Catholic propensities, whose principal duty would seem to be to find fault with, and run down whatever is Catholic, and the conduct of some of whom has been at times more noticeable for coarseness and shocking vulgarity, than polite, gentlemanly breeding; all this, with more that could be added, is evidence enough that the *statu quo* is not being preserved; that the Catholic Indian schools, at least, are not only being interfered, but,

slowly and gradually, done away with, by a policy that aims at rendering their continuance practically impossible.

And yet, despite the odds against them, these schools are well conducted, efficient and successful, and, as a matter of fact, superior to the non-sectarian ones of the Government. And this they are, it would seem, not in the eyes of their friends alone, but in those even of the Government officials who have had occasion to visit them frequently, and who, far from being partial, are openly hostile. We positively know that some of those officials have, time and again, held up our Catholic Indian Schools as models and examples for imitation ; and that they have even directed matrons, teachers and other attachés of the Government Indian schools to go and acquaint themselves with and follow Catholic methods. A like testimony from such witnesses is indeed more than a gratifying and unlooked for compliment in favor of our Catholic Indian schools ; it is their best vindication.

These gentlemen, however, do not seem to know or understand that the efficiency of the methods is here due to something else besides the mere methods themselves. You cannot produce an effect without an adequate cause to produce it, and the education of the Indian, the lifting up of savage human beings from their native barbarism to a state of civilized, moral existence, is beyond the efficiency of mere natural causes.

Surface, mere skin work, that will never reach the mind and the heart to form the man, is the very best and all that the non-sectarian schools can produce. A dummy dressed up as a lady or a gentleman is still a dummy ; grapes and figs are not gathered from thorns and thistles, and an evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit.

If our Catholic Indian schools are efficient and successful, it is principally through that very one factor which non-sectarianism excludes from the schools of the Government, religion—live, sterling Christianity. Catholic Indian teachers are not hirelings ; they draw no salaries ; they have no families of their own to provide for and look after. These children of the woods, these degraded human beings are the

children of their adoption; and the greater their wretchedness and degradation, the greater also to Christian charity is the incentive to go to their assistance. Catholic Indian teachers look not for gain, nor seek they for comforts. Their personal wants are reduced to a minimum compatible with bare living and a life of persistent, hard toil, all superfluities being retrenched even by solemn and most sacred vows. A shingle over their heads; clothing enough to be decently covered with and kept from freezing and perishing from cold in winter; plain, common food sufficient for a bare existence in their toilsome duties, is all they want and all they ask for the privilege of devoting and sacrificing their talents, their strength and their lives to the work. And whence all this but from religion and Christianity? Christianity with its doctrines and supernatural aids and comforts is here at work both to qualify the teachers to form the pupils, and to qualify the pupils to be formed and moulded by the teachers, and imparts at the same time efficiency to the efforts of both the teachers and the pupils all through the process. And what is the result? Success on the side of the Catholic schools; for "a good tree bringeth forth good fruit;" and failure and disappointment on the side of the others; for an evil tree we repeat it, cannot bring forth good fruit.

This contrast is, indeed, so noticeable that we are not afraid to trust to the testimony of our adversaries themselves the vindication of the superiority of the Catholic system over the other resting on non-sectarianism as its corner stone. Let, then, the Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs make known to the American public and to the world at large, every official report that he has received from his Indian Agents, Superintendents, Inspectors and Supervisors about Catholic contract schools, and the Government schools alike in Montana, during his official term. Let him publish all these reports verbatim and literatim without doctoring them, without a jot being added to or taken from them, and we and every Catholic in the land will be content to abide by their verdict. And if, in the testimony of these official documents, Catholic contract schools in Montana are not superior to the non-sec-

tarian ones of the Government in every thing substantial in education, that is, good morals and good manners, discipline, industry, diligence, efficiency and proficiency, we shall be the first to cry them down, and call on our Catholic teachers and missionaries to give up and abandon the field.

But that all may know still better the real merits of the case at issue, and the actual state of Catholic Indian education in Montana, it is necessary to particularize a little more; and we shall give here, as briefly as possible, the name and number of Catholic Indian schools in the State; the number of pupils, teachers, accommodations, etc., with such other summary information as may be thought of some interest to the general public, or, as may throw light upon the subject.

The following are the schools:

St. Ignatius—on the Jocko, or Flat Head Reservation, in western Montana.

This school was established in 1864. For several years previous to its becoming a contract school, it was supported by the eleemosynary contributions solicited by the teachers, who, through the summer months, went from one mining camp to another begging their and their pupils' subsistence from the ever generous-hearted miner of Montana. It has two dependencies, a kindergarten for little papooses, and St. John Berchmans, a branch at Arlee. All told, and dependencies included, it counts some 400 pupils in attendance and has accommodations for nearly 200 more. It first became a contract school in 1876, with an allowed number of 40 pupils at $108 a year per pupil. In 1884 the number was increased to 75 and later on to 150. Since 1889, Congress has made a distinct, annual appropriation for St. Ignatius, raising the number of pupils to 300 and the per capita to $150; and this favorable legislation was brought about, principally, through the kind action of two eminent non-Catholic gentlemen, Hon. George G. Vest, United States Senator from the State of Missouri, and his Excellency Joseph K. Toole, then Delegate to Congress from the Territory of Montana, and now the worthy Governor of the new State. The school counts thirty-three unsalaried teachers and assistants and ten hired hands.

The Indian Department making no allowance for children under six years of age, the sixty to seventy papooses in the kindergarten receive no Government support.

The improvements at St. Ignatius in church and school buildings, furniture, shops, tools, agricultural implements, outhouses, machinery, etc., cannot fall short of the estimated value of $180,000, and these improvements are, mostly, the result of the combined and cumulative efforts, industry, hard toil, frugal and economical habits of the founders of the Mission and school and their successors in the continuance of the work, whether as managers, teachers or assistants, none of whom ever drew one single copper as salary or reward for their services.

Among the causes and factors of the prosperity and success of this institution may also be counted the comparative exemption from non-Catholic and non-sectarian interference enjoyed thus far by the school and due, perhaps, to the fact that our Catholic Indian missionaries were here the first in the field. This, however, it would seem, is no longer to be the case. Only a short time ago, a number of pupils were ordered dropped from the rolls, on the plea that they were Crees from across the border, and not American subjects. On the same ground also payment is withheld for a number of children who have been in attendance at the St. Peter's and at the St. Paul's Mission schools. And yet, wherever their ancestors' homes may have been those children were born on American soil, were their parents have resided permanently (waiving occasional rambles common to all roving Indians) at least for the last twenty-five years. Furthermore, leaving out that these pupils were not objected to in the past, it is known that some of them have sisters and brothers in the Government schools, and no objection is raised against them on the score that they are not United States subjects.

The next school calling our attention is that of St. Peter, near Fort Shaw, in northern Montana. It was established at about the same time as that of St. Ignatius and was intended for the Black Feet and other Indians, then living and roaming in those northern prairies. It has met with considerable

opposition on the part of the non-Catholic Agents and Protestant preachers to whose care and ministry those Indians have been confided ; and, besides, the cutting down of the Black Feet reservation left St. Peter's school some seventy-five miles away from the Indians. These and other difficulties could not but interfere with and retard its progress. The school was first opened in 1863. It was closed at the beginning of the Piegan troubles, 1866, at the termination of which, about eight years after, it was reopened. In 1885 it became a contract school with some thirty pupils in attendance. This number was increased later on gradually, until it reached over two hundred, one hundred and ninety being paid for by the Indian Department at the rate of $9.00 a month per pupil. The school can accommodate to-day 400 children. The buildings are substantial, being stone, and ample, and the school facilities all that can be desired. The estimated value of all these improvements is about $70,000. Except some $10,000 indebtedness, or borrowed capital, the funds were derived, more or less, from the same sources that we indicated above, speaking of St. Ignatius. There are 20 people employed to conduct the school, and of these none receive salaries.

St. Labré, among the Cheyennes on the Tongue River, in southeastern Montana, is the third Catholic Indian school, and was founded in 1884. It is a contract school with an allowed number of 40 pupils, but it could easily accommodate 30 or 40 more. It is managed by eight persons, all unsalaried. The funds for its establishment were obtained, partly in a lecturing tour through the Eastern States undertaken for that purpose by the Right Reverend J. B. Brondel, Bishop of Helena, and partly from borrowed capital. Its improvements in buildings, furniture, etc., are estimated close upon $15,000. Perhaps no other Indian school has been beset with greater difficulties than St. Labré. Still, if not all that it might have been under less unfavorable circumstances, its progress has been gratifying. The Government schools for the same Indians are at the Agency some 20 miles off.

St. Paul, among the Assinaboines and Gros Ventres, in

northeastern Montana, comes fourth. Its establishment dates from 1886, as previous to that time Catholics were not allowed to do any school and mission work among these Indians. This was also the case with regard to the Black Feet, as already stated, and with the Crows as well, though all these tribes had been asking for years for Catholic teachers. Borrowed capital principally supplied the funds for the erection of buildings, new and substantial additions to which are now under way. The total cost of school improvements, those under way included, will be close on, if not above $40,000. The school has a Government contract for the education of 145 children at the rate of $108 dollars per year. The actual attendance, however, has been all along in excess of the number provided for by the Government. The staff here is composed of 15 teachers and assistants, who draw no salary. Government schools for the same Indians are located at the Fort Belknap and Fort Peck Agencies.

Fifth in turn is St. Xavier on the Big Horn, with a branch or dependency on Pryor Creek, on the Crow reservation, in southern Montana. This school was begun in 1887, and, in the short time of its existence, everything considered, has been brought up to a remarkable degree of efficiency. The contract with the United States Government calls for the education of 120 children, but the school has accommodations for more than twice as many. These accommodations have cost $48,000, and the persons giving here their services without reward number 21.

The Government schools are at the Crow Agency, and the American Unitarian Association have also a school of their own on this reservation.

The funds for the establishment of St. Xavier and the Holy Family also, of which we shall speak directly, were furnished by the Misses Drexel, of Philadelphia. These noble American ladies, the honor both of their sex and of their country, have for years past taken the greatest interest in assisting and promoting school and mission work among the Indians and the colored people as well. Their benefactions in the cause of the red and the black man have been unstinted

and without number. Not content with giving to the work her princely fortune, Miss Kate Drexel, now Mother Katharine, is devoting to it to-day her very life, having just founded a religious community of brave American women, whose only object and ambition is to become the servants of the poorest human beings on earth, and the most despised by the pride and sensual effeminacy of the age, the Indian and the Black. Verily, the hand of the Lord is not shortened; and Mother Katharine's humble work may yet prove the heroic deed of the century, as it certainly is of this country! But what a contrast, at the same time, between non-sectarianism, its shams, its contradictions, its hypocrisies, and this live, sterling Christianity with the lofty, sublime deeds it inspires! And we have no doubt that in the unselfish heart of that Christian woman there is, even for Commissioner Morgan and his non-sectarian supporters, a special corner whence many a fervent prayer is poured forth in their behalf, prompted by nothing else than their mischief-making propensities to undo her noble work!

There only remains to mention the last school, that of the Holy Family, on the Black Feet reservation, in northern Montana. Great opposition was made to the starting of this school, and the Catholic missionaries were even ordered off the reservation by the autocrat in command of that Agency. Authorization to proceed was granted by Congress. After the erection of the necessary accommodations, the funds for which were supplied, as already mentioned, by the Misses Drexel of Philadelphia, an appropriation was asked for the support and education of one hundred Indian children, and a bill to that effect was introduced by Hon. T. H. Carter, delegate from Montana, and passed the House. But through the endeavors of the Indian Office the bill was reported adversely by the Senate Committee. The matter came up for discussion before "the" United States Senate, July 25, 1890, and the original item was restored and passed by a vote of twenty-seven to nineteen. (See *Congressional Record*, July 25, 1890.)

The Holy Family School is managed by twelve teachers

and assistants without salary. It has 120 children in attendance, 100 being the number allowed by the Government at the rate of $125 a year per pupil. The improvements with furniture, etc., cost closely on $30,000.

The results attained by the Holy Family School, considering the short time of its existence, are not only noticeable, but very remarkable, and are rendered more striking by the contrast of the Government schools that have been in operation at the Agency for a number of years, and whose record for either discipline or efficiency has been thus far anything but satisfactory. Additional and costly buildings have been erected by the present administration and great efforts made to start up anew and put some life into the business, but it would seem that, even of late, the school has had to undergo *sundry incidental repairs.*

There are, then, in Montana, including the kindergarten at St. Ignatius and the two dependencies at Arlee and on Pryor Creek, nine Catholic Indian schools with accommodations for some 1,400 children, about 1,000 pupils being in actual attendance ; and these schools, besides being mostly conducted by teachers and assistants who draw no salaries, represent some $400,000 worth of improvements, made and kept in repair for the cause of Indian Education by the Catholic Church without one cent's cost to the United States Government.

As to the teachers engaged in these schools, we may further remark that those among them who are foreigners by birth have become American citizens by choice and naturalization, or have declared their intention to become so as soon as the legal formalities will allow them, and speak English correctly and fluently, if not all with the accent of the native born. All the unsalaried male teachers are members of the Society of Jesus, while of the unsalaried teachers of the other sex some fourteen belong to the Sisterhood of Providence and the others to that of St. Ursula. Besides English, many of the teachers speak also the Indian languages of the pupils under their charge. This will appear no small advantage if one considers the fact that many of the Indian youth, though mere blanks like infants with regard to most of the

things they are to be trained in or to, are grown up youngsters in years ; have understanding, though of their own and peculiar, and require, in consequence, to be talked to and reasoned with whilst they are being educated. From this follows that baby or infant-like methods must be less suited to them, and, as the teacher who knows not his pupil's language has no other alternative but the baby method, he is also for that at so much disadvantage.

We think, somewhat, that the Hon. Commissioner himself is aware of this, and our surmise rests on what he lays down as the qualifications desired in the pupils to be transferred to the new Fort Shaw school. "The pupils," says the Hon. Commissioner, "should have a fair knowledge of English," and again, "it is desirable that they should have been in attendance at some other school." Of course, and without a doubt of it. But, if we understand the honorable gentleman, this simply means that the hardest and most difficult part of the work, the preliminary and rudimentary, that of making human beings of these wild children of the forest, of moulding and shaping them and making them tractable first, and then giving them also a fair knowledge of English, should be done by those who alone can do it, or can do it best. When this is done the rest is easy, and besides the Hon. Commissioner could thus parade as his own and as the result of his system the work of others. But as this preliminary teaching, in its complex, is impossible as we have shown independently of Christianity, it follows by implication that the honorable gentleman would make Christianity and its ministers, instruments and accomplices to undo their own work, and supply him with Christians to be unchristianized ! Was there ever the like audacity ?

In the number of pupils attending our Catholic Indian schools, both sexes are about evenly represented ; and although under one general superintendent for each school, the male and female departments have each a distinct and separate management, occupy separate buildings, on separate grounds, and, if exception be made of the kindergarten, they are mostly also taught by different teachers. To the

Hon. Commissioner and others like him this separation of the sexes savors a little too much of monasticism. That may be, and we cheerfully accept the criticism and the taunt, but observe at the same time in extenuation, that our Catholic Indian school managers are all men of some experience and know something of human nature in general, and Indian nature in particular ; and that, also, the Hon. Commissioner has likely had by this time evidence enough to enable him to judge which of the two, the non-mixture or the mixture system is here preferable and more conducive to good morals. We might accentuate this paragraph by reference to facts and figures, likely not unknown in the Indian Office, but we do not care to soil our fingers, and pass on, instead, to add a word on the relative cost of Catholic contract schools as compared with those conducted by the Government.

For this we have but to refer to official tables (see *Congressional Record*, July 25, 1890, and Report of the Commissioner on Indian Affairs, 1890). In the statement of the Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, $175 a year is the average cost of an Indian pupil in the Government schools. This is for support only, and to it must be added the amounts paid out in salaries, about as follows :

One superintendent,	$1,500
One clerk,	1,200
One principal teacher,	1,200
One industrial teacher,	1,000
Two assistant teachers at rate of $600 each,	1,200
One matron,	700
One assistant matron,	600
One seamstress,	480
One cook and assistant,	820
One laundress and assistant,	630
One carpenter,	900
One blacksmith and wagonmaker,	900
One shoe and harnessmaker,	900
One tailor,	900
One engineer and janitor,	720
One hospital steward, One baker, One butcher,	330

This table, rather below than above the number of hands employed, gives an aggregate of some $13,000 paid out yearly in salaries only, in a Government school containing between 150 and 160 pupils. To this is also to be added the cost of buildings, repairs, implements, tools, etc., etc.

The Catholic Indian contract schools in Montana receive an average of $127 and sixty odd cents per pupil. This amount covers everything, buildings, repairs, support, clothing, tools, implements, salary of teachers, etc.

From the above figures it can be gathered that an Indian pupil in a Government school costs over twice as much as one educated in a Catholic contract school. But, then, in the words of the Hon. Commissioner, "The United States with an overflowing treasury has at its command unlimited means and can undertake and complete this work," (this expensive sort of Indian education) "without feeling it to be in any way a burden." We cannot doubt it.

But yet, why should not an administration that is so liberal and lavish with the people's money, be equally liberal in dealing with Catholic contract schools also? Why not be fair at least? Have not these Indian children a soul, a religion and a conscience? And does not our *Magna Charta* guarantee freedom of conscience and worship to every man, woman and child in this land of the free? And where is here freedom of conscience and worship left to these Indian children whom the present Indian policy forces into its non-sectarian schools? Are, then, these Catholic children to be handed over body and soul to non-sectarianism to be made practical apostates from that Catholicity which has civilized them at an infinite cost of toil and hardships.

But we must quote once more from the Twenty-third Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners of 1891. After the formal declaration therein made that the present policy of the Government was to preserve the *statu quo* and not interfere with the contract schools already established, and that it would allow matters to take their own course, Commissioner Morgan page 134-5, continues as follows: "There is the most harmonious relations between the Indian

Office and the schools maintained by the churches. Bishop Ireland confesses that he had not understood the policy of the Office and states that he is more than pleased with what we are doing. He has no complaint to make. Dr. O'Gorman says that they ought to adopt the Government course of studies throughout their schools, and have Government inspection, and work in harmony with the Government schools."

In the face of facts and current events, these statements of Commissioner Morgan are rather astounding reading. This "most harmonious relation" does not, and cannot exist so long as the present policy is insisted on ; it is the harmony of contradiction, of light and darkness, and to assert it, at least of the Catholic Church, is to assert the most paradoxical of paradoxes. The great and much-misunderstood Archbishop of St. Paul has been made to say and mean a great many things in late years, but that he should be quoted in defence and support of an Indian school policy that implies the "Decatholization" of every Catholic Indian boy and girl in Montana, caps the climax. The Hon. Commissioner simply reminds us here of the evil one defending his course and policy by quoting scripture. Even admitting, then, the authenticity and accuracy of the statements attributed to Archbishop Ireland, we give an absolute denial to the meaning and construction that is put upon them by the Hon. Commissioner. If spoken at all, these words, as is evident from the time of their publication, were spoken a good while ago, and as we infer from the context, on the explicit and formal assurance given to that prelate, that Catholic contract schools would not be interfered with, that the *statu quo* would be maintained, etc. Those promises are being cast to the winds, and how the Commissioner can invoke the distinguished Archbishop of St. Paul as indorsing the present Indian school policy of the administration is beyond our conception.

As to the statements attributed to Dr. O'Gorman, we may say that we are in perfect accord with the eminent Doctor, provided only—and we have not a shadow of doubt that Dr. O'Gorman did not speak in a different sense—that to adopt

the Government course of study, and to be in harmony with Government schools, be not understood to mean to give to Cæsar that which belongs to God. With regard to Government inspection of Catholic contract schools, no one in charge of these schools has ever objected to it, not even when some of the officials appointed to this duty have been of the rude, anti-Catholic kind referred to above.

But success or no success, cost or no cost, fair or unfair, Commissioner Morgan has a hobby of his own to solve the Indian question, and this he proposes to ride with "comprehensiveness, definiteness of aim, clearness of outline, adaptation of means to ends, firmness and radicalness" (Report of 1891). We have read with some attention all the official reports of the honorable gentleman and his new policy as outlined by himself is substantially as follows: The Indians must be made American citizens, and, to bring this about, according to him, the "make haste slowly" does not seem to apply here. As means to this end, a system of non-sectarian Indian education under the exclusive control of the Government must be forced upon all Indians of school age. The nature of the case requires industrial boarding schools, where these children must be sheltered, fed, clothed, taught at the expense of the Government, and Indian contract schools being partisan are, in consequence, against the Constitution and must be abolished. Hence, the "settled policy of the present Indian administration" to break up the reservation system and all tribal connections, to set aside all authority of Indian chiefs over their people and "to deal with the Indians no longer as nations, tribes or bands, but as individual citizens." If after the application of this policy the Indians "are unable or unwilling to sustain themselves," says the Commissioner, "they must go the wall. It will be a survival of the fittest." (Reports of 1890 and 1891.)

No one will say that to civilize, educate and aim at making Indians American citizens is not a noble work, most praiseworthy and eminently patriotic, and we ourselves have devoted to it the best years of our life, and more than a quarter of a century. But the end does not justify the

means, and here the question is of the means, not of the end. Are the means advocated and employed by the administration fair and honest? Has not its Indian school policy all the look of being prompted and dictated by prejudice and narrow-minded bigotry rather than the real welfare of the races? Is there no reason to suspect that this *forcing* of American citizenship upon the red man is more the work of political chicanery than true American patriotism?

There was a time when the paternal care of the United States over the Indians sought to legislate "against further decline and extinction," and if its beneficient intentions have been frequently frustrated by the inventive rapacity of subalterns and the unsatiable greediness of the frontier man, it cannot be properly charged to any unfairness on the part of the general Government. But the "settled policy" of the present Indian administration is aimed directly to the hastening of "the decline and extinction," and no other, in our opinion, could have been devised to do the work more completely and more expeditiously, except perhaps, to "remove," we mean kill off the races outright. We hope we are mistaken, but however acceptable it may be to scheming politicians and to the covetousness of the men on the frontier, we much doubt whether this policy is not a new and the last chapter in the Indian drama, and the crowning of what has been styled, with but too much reason, "a century of dishonors." However, we are not here concerned with this part of the problem, we simply hint at it and no more.

What closely belongs to our subject is the Hon. Commissioner's loudly proclaimed assumption that the contract schools "are contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Constitution." We here content ourselves with simply giving an unqualified and most emphatic denial that they are either; and as the burden of the proof rests with him, we challenge the Hon. Commissioner to make good his assertion.

In the meantime, while waiting for the proof, we bring this article to a close by going back whence we first started, and ask once more: Is it fair, is it honest, is it according to the letter and spirit of the Constitution for the present Indian

administration to take advantage of the utterly helpless condition of the Catholic Indian children in Montana and elsewhere, and force them into schools wherein they must needs be unchristianized? Is it according to the United States Constitution for the administration to use the means and authority of Government to make Catholic Indian children apostates to their religion? And yet, if it is contrary to the United States Constitution that these ignorant, naked and starving children be taught, sheltered, fed and clothed by the State in other but its known non-sectarian schools, does it not follow that it must, then, be according to the Constitution for the State to interfere with people's conscience and religion? The alternative is here:

These children, you say, cannot be trained in the Catholic schools at the expense of the State, because it is against the United States Constitution for the State to appropriate public funds for that purpose. On the other hand, as there is absolutely no other chance left for these Indians but to perish or be provided for by the nation, all admit that the Government does the right thing by coming to their assistance. But say our opponents; the Government cannot provide for them constitutionally, except it makes its aid contingent on those children attending its non-sectarian schools. But as these Indian children are Catholics, and cannot enter these schools without giving up their religion, it follows that the surrender of their faith and religion is here the *sine qua non*, not only that these children may become beneficiaries of the State, but that the State may provide for them without violating the Constitution! And thus the constitutionality of the measure is here made to consist, by these worthies, in a flagrant violation of the Constitution itself! Verily, is not this a glaring "*mentita est iniquitas sibi?*"

We ask further can it be more against the United States Constitution to teach than to *unteach* a religion? For it is self-evident, that you cannot *unteach* a religion without teaching religion. To unteach, then, Catholicity as is done in every non-sectarian Indian school must necessarily be as unconstitutional as, these gentlemen say, is the teaching of